

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 01952

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DEPARTMENT PASS TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, UK, US, XA
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S CALL ON COMMONWEALTH
SECRETARY GENERAL RAMPHAL

SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR YOUNG MET FOR HALF HOUR FEBRUARY 2
WITH COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL RAMPHAL, WHO WAS AC-
COMPANIED BY NIGERIAN REPRESENTATIVE, AND OBSERVER TO
GENEVA TALKS, ANYAOKU. RAMPHAL TOOK OCCASION TO URGE NEW
U.S. ADMINISTRATION TO ARTICULATE AND PURSUE A MORE AC-
TIVE POLICY IN SUPPORT OF MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA. OFFICIALLY HE URGED U.S. TO USE ITS LEVERAGE
WITH SOUTH AFRICA TO PRESS IAN SMITH, REPEAL THE BYRD
AMENDMENT, TAKE ADDITIONAL STEPS TO HALT THE RECRUITMENT
OF U.S. MERCENARIES, AND INSURE THAT THERE IS NO SLACKING
OF PRESSURE ON THE NAMIBIA. WHILE ENDORSING FRONT LINE
RECOGNITION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS ONLY WAY TO KEEP
PRESSURE ON SMITH AND PREVENT ANGOLAN-STYLE CIVIL WAR, HE
EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING DOOR TO NEGOTIATIONS
OPEN. END SUMMARY

1. AMBASSADOR YOUNG STRESSED THE COMMITMENT OF THE NEW
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ADMINISTRATION TO SEEKING PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO SOUTHERN
AFRICA'S PROBLEMS, STRESSED THE HOPE THAT PAST CLOSE
WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH RAMPHAL AND THE COMMONWEALTH
WOULD CONTINUE. HE DESCRIBED THE PROSPECTS FOR REPEALING
THE BYRD AMENDMENT AS VERY GOOD IN VIEW OF THE ADMINIS-
TRATION'S FIRM COMMITMENT TO THAT GOAL AND THE CHANGE OF
MIND AMONG TRADITIONAL OPPONENTS OF REPEAL IN THE U.S.

CONGRESS. HE EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT EARLY REPEAL WOULD BE A CONCRETE SIGNAL NOT ONLY TO RHODESIA BUT TO SOUTH AFRICA OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY. HE STRESSED THAT THE PURPOSE OF HIS CURRENT VISIT WAS TO SOLICIT THE VIEWS OF THE BRITISH AND THE AFRICANS ON HOW THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BEST USE ITS INFLUENCE TO BRING ABOUT DESIRED CHANGES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

2. RAMPHAL WARMLY WELCOMED AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VISIT AND EXPRESSED HOPE FOR CONTINUED CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT AND THE U.S. HE EMPHASIZED THE ENORMOUS AMOUNT EXPECTED OF U.S. ADMINISTRATION AND OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG IN PARTICULAR. BASED ON HIS RECENT MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENTS KAUNDA AND OBASANJO IN NIGERIA, RAMPHAL SAID YOUNG WOULD FIND STRONG INSISTENCE AMONG FRONT LINE STATES THAT U.S. SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE BE NOT MERELY "PASSIVE" AS IN THE PAST, BUT AGGRESSIVE. HE WELCOMED SECRETARY VANCE'S JANUARY 31 STATEMENT ON RHODESIA AS FIRST STEP IN ARTICULATING THIS NEW APPROACH.

3. RAMPHAL STATED THAT U.S. MUST EXERCISE ITS LEVERAGE WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN ORDER TO BRING SMITH TO TERMS, AND WARNED THAT IF THE U.S. DOES NOT DELIVER SMITH, "OTHERS WILL." HE ALSO RAISED THE ISSUE OF U.S. MERCENARIES ALLEGEDLY BEING RECRUITED FOR RHODESIA AND STRESSED THAT IF THIS CONTINUED SMITH WOULD BE ABLE TO OVERCOME THE MANPOWER SHORTAGES WHICH ARE ALREADY THREATENING TO CRIPPLE THE RHODESIAN ECONOMY.

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4. TURNING TO THE FRONT LINE STATES' ENDORSEMENT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, RAMPHAL ARGUED THAT AFRICAN RECOGNITION OF THE FRONT WAS THE ONLY MEANS TO ENSURE THE CONTINUATION OF THE MILITARY STRUGGLE THAT WOULD FORCE SMITH TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. MOREOVER, THE ONLY EFFECTIVE MEANS OF PREVENTING AN ANGOLAN-LIKE CIVIL WAR WAS TO RECOGNIZE THE MERGER OF THE TWO MOVEMENTS WHICH COULD CONTROL ALL OF RHODESIA'S FREEDOM FIGHTERS. ASKED WHETHER FRONT LINE RECOGNITION WOULD EXCLUDE MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE FROM PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. RAMPHAL SAID THAT THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS MIGHT AGREE TO ALLOW MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE A PLACE IN A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT BUT NOT ONE OF PARITY. THE FRONT LINE, HE SAID, WAS INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT MUZOREWA'S WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE SEPARATELY WITH SMITH AND ALSO ABOUT REPORTS THAT HE HAS BEEN ATTEMPTING TO ORGANIZE HIS OWN INDEPENDENT

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FORCE. IT WAS THIS PROSPECT IN PARTICULAR, RAMPHAL ARGUED, THAT "FRIGHTENED" THE FRONT LINE INTO RECOGNIZING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. RAMPHAL SEEMED TO BELITTLE MUZOREWA'S SUPPORT IN RHODESIA. HE UNDERSTOOD, HE SAID, THAT MUZOREWA'S POPULARITY LIES MAINLY IN SALISBURY AND EMERGES MAINLY ON SUNDAYS. HE EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT ALL OF AFRICA (I.E., THE OAU) WOULD THROW ITS WEIGHT BEHIND THAT DECISION.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, RAMPHAL SAID IT WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT WE NOT LOSE THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. HE WAS THEREFORE DISTURBED BY THE "DISMANTLING" OF GENEVA AND BY THE HASTE WITH WHICH THE BRITISH HAD, IN HIS VIEW, DECLARED THE NEGOTIATIONS AT AN END. U.S. SHOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE UK EFFORT AND KEEP THE BRITISH INVOLVED. RAMPHAL WAS CONCERNED THAT THE BRITISH, NOW ONCE AGAIN BURNED BY SMITH. WOULD WITHDRAW INTO A COCOON. THE NATIONALIST LEADERS, HE SAID, RECOGNIZE THAT IF THE POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS IS CLOSED THE RESULTING ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE WOULD EVENTUALLY MAKE THEM ALL IRRELEVANT TO THE OUTCOME IN RHODESIA. HE INDICATED THAT THE AFRICANS WOULD NOT OBJECT TO THE LATEST BRITISH PROPOSALS AS "A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION," BUT STRESSED THAT THE PROPOSALS WOULD HAVE TO BE MODIFIED SIGNIFICANTLY IN ORDER TO GIVE THE NATIONALISTS EVEN

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GREATER POWER AND CONTROL WITHIN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. HE STATED THE WILLINGNESS OF THE COMMONWEALTH TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD, BUT INDICATED THIS MIGHT BE LESS THAN AN ACTUAL PEACEKEEPING ROLE.

6. FINALLY, WITH REGARD TO NAMIBIA, RAMPHAL EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE NET RESULT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S EFFORTS NOW APPEARED TO BE A DECLINE OF INTEREST IN AND EFFORTS TOWARD SOLUTION IN THE NAMIBIA. HE DID NOT WISH TO SUGGEST THAT THIS WAS THE INTENTION OF KISSINGER'S INITIATIVE, MERELY AN ANALYSIS OF WHAT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THE RESULT. SECRETARY KISSINGER AND NYERERE HAD AGREED THAT THE PROBLEM IN NAMIBIA WAS PROCEDURAL RATHER THAN SUBSTANTIVE, AND PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN DEVELOPING A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS. THE U.S. MUST NOW ENSURE THAT THERE IS NO SLOWDOWN OF EFFORT.

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